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ARNOLD, THE AMERICAN TRAITOR

ANDRÉ, THE BRITISH SPY

WASHINGTON,

THE FATHER OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY
THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY

ADDRESS,

OF THE

The Historical and Forestry Society

OF ROCKLAND COUNTY,

ON FEBRUARY 22, 1881

TO

HON. ERASTUS BROOKS,

Received by New York City Historical Society, New York City, New York
Society, March 18, 1881

NEW YORK

THE BURR PRINTING HOUSE, 18 JACOB STREET

1881

compliments of

ARNOLD, THE AMERICAN TRAITOR;

ANDRÉ, THE BRITISH SPY;

WASHINGTON,

THE DEFENDER OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY,
THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE

The Historical and Forestry Society

OF ROCKLAND COUNTY,

ON FEBRUARY 22, 1881,

BY

HON. ERASTUS BROOKS.

Redelivered in New Haven by Request of the "New Haven Colony Historical Society," March 18, 1881.

NEW YORK:

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1881.

BY TRANSFER.
JUN 3 1910

Historical and Forestry Society of Rockland County.



ORGANIZATION.

THE first meeting of the Society to effect an organization for the objects hereinafter named was held at Nyack on the 22d of February, 1878. A call for a meeting had been previously issued, and the following gentlemen evinced their interest in the objects of the Society by their presence at the meeting, by letter or otherwise :

Hon. J. W. FERDON, Hon. A. E. SUFFERN, Dr. C. R. AGNEW, W. S. GILMAN, Jr., Rev. A. S. FREEMAN, ROBERT SMITH, Dr. W. GOVAN, W. T. SEARING, W. A. SHEPARD, JOHN L. SALISBURY, G. VAN NOSTRAND, JOHN CHARLTON, ALBERT WELLS, Prof. G. D. WILSON, W. H. BANNISTER, Rev. W. C. STITT, CHAS. W. MILLER, W. H. WHITON, BENJ. GILMAN, Rev. A. H. HAND, D.D., J. SNEIDER, CYRUS M. CRUM, R. LEXOW, Rev. G. M. S. BLAUVELT, H. WHITTEMORE.

The following Officers were elected for 1878 :

President, Hon. J. W. FERDON.

Vice-Presidents :

Hon. A. E. SUFFERN,
ALBERT WELLS,
W. GOVAN, M.D.,
JACOB SNEIDER,
CYRUS M. CRUM.

Recording Secretary, - HENRY WHITTEMORE.

Corresponding Secretary, W. S. GILMAN, JR.

Treasurer, - - - - G. VAN NOSTRAND.

The organization was not completed until the early part of 1879, when the Articles of Incorporation were filed with the Secretary of State, in accordance with an Act of the Legislature of the State of New York entitled, "AN ACT for the incorporation of Societies or Clubs for certain lawful purposes," passed May 12th, 1875, and amendments thereto.

MEMBERSHIP.

There are three classes of members : RESIDENT MEMBERS, LIFE MEMBERS, and ASSOCIATE MEMBERS ; the latter are usually composed of non-residents of the County, and pay no dues.

MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting of the Society is held on the 22d day of February.

The Quarterly Meetings are held on the 3d Saturday of May, August, and November, at such places as the Executive Committee designates.

OBJECTS.

The OBJECTS of the Society are, to discover, procure, and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, and literary history of Rockland County, and to promote an interest in Forestry and Rural Adornment.

The Society is collecting materials for a Library and Museum, to consist of

1. Books and Pamphlets on General History.
2. Books and Pamphlets on the History of particular Nations and Peoples.
3. Manuscripts on General and Particular History.
4. Books, Pamphlets, and Manuscripts of Biography.
5. Especially Books, Pamphlets, Manuscripts, and Historical Relics pertaining to the History of Rockland County and vicinity.

Members are especially desired to furnish information upon Historical Matters pertaining to the County, either in the form of Papers, to be placed on file, or to be read at the quarterly meetings of the Society.

NOTA BENA.—Donations of Books, Maps, Charts, Manuscripts, Indian Relics, *Relics of the Revolutionary War*, and other historical objects of interest, may be sent to the Secretary, where they will be carefully preserved for the Society.

Articles sent should be directed to

HENRY WHITTEMORE, *Recording Secretary*,

NYACK, N. Y.

OFFICERS FOR 1881.



PRESIDENT,
CORNELIUS R. AGNEW, M.D.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

REV. J. H. GUNNING,	HON. J. W. FERDON
HON. A. E. SUFFERN,	W. GOVAN, M.D.
J. SNEIDER.	

RECORDING SECRETARY,	- - - -	HENRY WHITTEMORE.
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,	- - - -	W. S. GILMAN, JR.
TREASURER,	- - - -	G. VAN NOSTRAND.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

QUINTEN McADAM,	GEORGE F. MORSE.
R. LEXOW,	REV. W. C. STITT.
REV. G. M. S. BLAUVELT,	JOHN CHARLTON
GARRET E. GREENE.	

Ex Officio:

C. R. AGNEW, M.D.,	HENRY WHITTEMORE
REV. J. H. GUNNING.	W. S. GILMAN, JR.,
G. VAN NOSTRAND.	

ADDITIONAL RESIDENT MEMBERS.

REV. H. E. DECKER, FLOYD BAILEY, PETER V. KING, A. T. BLAUVELT,
S. B. HUSTED, GARRET E. GREENE, H. E. LAWRENCE, JAMES S. HARING,
C. T. PIERSON, E. F. PIERSON, TUNIS TALLMAN, NICHOLAS BLAUVELT,
W. H. MCCORKLE, WILLIAM FERDON, QUINTEN McADAM, DR. G. F. BLAU-
VELT, REV. J. H. GUNNING, GEORGE F. MORSE, CORNELIUS F. SMITH,
HON. ABRAM S. HEWITT.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

CYRUS W. FIELD, BENSON J. LOSSING, COL. C. M. WELD, GEN. W. S.
STRYKER.

PAPER NO. 1.

THE MEN AND COUNTRY HEREBOUTS ONE
HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF ROCKLAND: The anniversary of the birthday of Washington deserves general remembrance throughout the land, and special remembrance in this locality. The tendency of the times I fear is rather to reverence the rising and risen men of the land than to remember, as we ought, those who gave birth, health, and strength to the nation. Without doing injustice to the living, it becomes us to-day at least, to recall some of the transactions of a hundred years ago. A few months beyond that period, or on the 28th of September, 1780, Washington and his staff, who had been upon a visit to the French General Rochambeau at Hartford, arrived at Tappan near you and took up his quarters at the De Wint mansion* erected in 1700, and still well preserved. The

* The quaint old building known as Washington's Headquarters at Tappan, although associated with one of the most important events of the Revolution—the trial and execution of Major André—has yet little more than a local reputation. It was erected in the year 1700, as is attested by figures some four feet in height set in the front brick wall of the building. Among the interesting relics in the possession of the Historical Society of Rockland County, is an old parchment deed executed “on the first day of June, in the Thirteenth Year of the Glorious Reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and fourteen” conveying to one “Deirk Straatmaker, Freeman, one-sixteenth part of Orangetown, alias Tapan, for the sum of Forty Pounds current money of New York.” This property was purchased by Johannes De Wint, a wealthy planter from St. Thomas, West Indies, about 1756, and continued in his possession up to 1790, the time of his death. The old well, which with the fence connecting it separated the negro quarters (slaves of De Wint) from the house, is still used by the present occupants of the premises, but the old well-sweep with “the moss-covered bucket” has long since been removed.

The Rockland County Historical Society made application some twelve years ago to the Legislature of New York for an appropriation of \$6500 to purchase this property. The bill passed both Houses of the Legislature, but was vetoed by Governor Robinson. Its present owner is Mr. Wm. Rogers of New York.

house was owned by Johannes De Wint, a planter from St. Thomas, one of the West India Islands. With the exception of Major Blauvelt, the son-in-law of De Wint, all the family were loyalists; but the daughter, with the natural spirit of a woman and of the times, was proud of the honor of entertaining the Commander-in-Chief of the American army. During the trial of André, Washington followed strictly his habits of family worship in the parlor of the mansion. The orderly life of his early home was his practice then, and up to the last month of the last year of the last century, when he died; almost his last words being "I die hard; but I am not afraid to go!" As an incident of the times let me state that a grandmother of Colonel Haring, of Rockland County, was in the habit of visiting the soldiers on errands of mercy while in your locality, and that in one of her visits she found a soldier under sentence of death for desertion. The poor fellow plead with her to intercede in his behalf. Calling at headquarters the following morning, she was informed by Major Blauvelt, the son-in-law of Mr. De Wint, that the General was conducting family worship, and that immediately after the service he would open the front door and walk through the hall. Biding her time she saw the Commander-in-Chief and made known her errand. "I am afraid he is a bad man, but for your sake I will see what can be done," said the General. After investigating the case he pardoned the man. Three weeks after he deserted again, and was captured and shot. Washington's almost single failure in his judgment of men was in the character of Arnold. Arnold's early life had proved his courage in the field and his devotion to the country.

Everything in the room occupied by Washington remains as he left it. The old Dutch tiles, with their Scripture illustrations, adorn the mantel. The closet and its wooden pegs used by the General for hanging his clothes, are the same. It was in this room that Washington signed the death warrant of Major André, and from one of the windows he saw the preparations for André's execution upon the hill and ordered his servant to close the blinds. As we shall see in the end he looked upon this act as one of the necessary tragedies of war.

Major André left West Point on the morning of September 28th, with Major Tallmadge, and arrived at Tappan on the evening of that day. He was assigned quarters at a tavern

then kept by Casparus Maybee, known at present as the "'76 House."* This was the first hotel in old Orangetown. At the same time Joshua Hett Smith was confined in the Dutch church, about 100 feet distant from the '76 House, where he heard most of the conversation during the trial of André. The Dutch church, where André was tried, was built in 1716, rebuilt and enlarged in 1788. At a later period it was demolished and the present edifice was erected in 1835.

The provisions supplied Major André during his confinement were sent from Washington's private table. Mrs. De Wint's daughter probably gave all the delicacies which a sympathizing woman could provide for an attractive man doomed to die for his zeal to serve his country.

I am asked in the memorable event celebrated to-day to speak—quoting the words of the Resolutions of your society—"of the wisdom and firmness of Washington under circumstances of peculiar trial, in which even his most devoted followers were disposed to question his humanity, if not his justice, and almost to fall in with the sentimental calumny of the day, which has been so often revived and refuted as to become ridiculous." I am also assured that "The memorial stone of André's execution is a monument to Washington." So interpreting the meaning of the words of your society, I shall speak of the event of September, 1780, of the treason of Arnold, of the captors of André, of the execution of André on the 2d of October, and of him who, above all other men in this nation, and out of it, in my judgment, remains truly and historically to-day, as he did 100 years gone by: "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Men die in the order of nature, and in the wisdom of Providence monuments are erected to commemorate the deeds of the brave and the good. They record near by one of the most signal events of the Revolution. They stand elsewhere in honor of the three peasant militiamen, Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart. The peasants who captured André have been long since dead, but the act performed by them will live to

* This first tavern in Orangetown was kept at this time by Casparus Maybee. André was led from this place to the summit of a hill in the rear, the place of his execution. Until within the last ten years the place has always been used as a tavern or drinking saloon. It has been unoccupied for a number of years, and the piazza in front presents rather a dilapidated appearance; otherwise the building is well preserved.

the end of time. I trust also that they have passed beyond the criticisms suggested by André, and spread before Congress and the country nearly forty years after André's execution. It is plain to me that André could not or did not value the men in whose hands he was at their manly worth, and to whom he offered, unaccepted, for his liberty, promises of unlimited reward.

ANDRÉ AND HIS THREE CAPTORS.

I shall not ask much more than a passing notice to-day to the men who captured André. Their lives and best deeds have been remembered in various addresses upon the opposite side of the river, and sometimes on these shores. We give all due honor to their memories, all just praise to their virtues, and all glory to their example. The work of these simple men, in the most trying period of the Revolution, is so wrought into the history of the nation that it has become one of its chief transactions. It is enough to say that the three men proved to be above temptation, if we are to believe the best evidences before us. We must, however, regret that men like André, and his friend Major Tallmadge, ever doubted the integrity of the captors; and regret also that the record was published more than once that "they were self-appointed to the office of stopping well-dressed travellers, and men who perhaps would have rifled a traveller." It is a duty to say that Paulding had been twice captured by the British army, that Williams was but twenty-two years old, and the eldest of his three companions. Though young in years and poor in purse, they were rich in mature judgment, and in their work performed a service of immense value.

The charges of Major Tallmadge on the floor of Congress in 1817, grew out of the application of Paulding for an increased pension. The request gave rise to the debate which started the accusation that the captors were undeserving men, who for money would have released André. As it was they took his watch, which was afterwards reclaimed by Colonel Smith for thirty guineas, his horse, saddle, and bridle, and for their service to the country they were rewarded by the State, by Congress, and by that undying fame which, in work well done, and in names recorded in history, becomes immortal to the end of time. It is due to Major Tallmadge to say that his opinion of the bad character of André's captors grew in part

out of the statement of André himself, that he would have been released at the time of his arrest if he had had money with him sufficient to meet the demands of his captors. There is no evidence of the truth of this statement. Looking at the good work done, and the temptations offered, it is a pleasure to accord the most honorable intentions as well as the grandest possible results to the timely and needed arrest of one, in whose hands for a time were the destinies of the nation.

A scene of dramatic interest attaches to the time and place of André's arrest. The spy came upon his captors, galloping upon a large brown horse, upon one of whose shoulders was branded the initial letters, "U. S. A." He found them engaged in a game of cards. Before dismounting he was taken to a whitewood or tulip-tree—long known as André's tree—its girth of twenty-six feet and its gnarled limbs reaching almost to the earth, making it an object of intense interest, at times almost of reverence, and especially so, after the tree was struck with lightning. Here André, as in the very shadow of death, stood with a marked countenance, a man about five feet seven inches in height. Here he was again questioned, and protested that he had no letters—perhaps, under the circumstances, and as wilful deceivers value the truth when in danger, a pardonable lie. Piece by piece he threw off his clothing. His long boots, the first object of attraction on the highway—for boots were rare and valuable at that time—proved that André was no common man. If—as was alleged thirty-seven years later—the captors were looking for money, they found in the stockings in André's boots treasure far more valuable than all the gold and silver in the colonies. The cry came at once and with an oath, which might also be pardoned in the Heavens: "*Here it is!*" "*He is a spy!*" And the prisoner was borne twelve miles off to Lieutenant-Colonel Jamieson, in command of the nearest quarters of the American army. With no suspicion of treason the first order of Jamieson was to send André to Arnold; but a good providence changed the intent as to the prisoner, but not as to information sent to Arnold of the capture of a spy. The escape of Arnold was a cruelty to the cause he had both served and betrayed: to the country at large, and in its example to mankind. He told the story of his villany in a few hurried words to his devoted and agonized wife, who, with her infant child in her arms, fell fainting to the floor, as it were, dead:

but now, alas, the life-long companion of the basest of ingrates and traitors, and far worse than dead. She was, be it said to her honor, and in sympathy with her great misfortune, innocent of all knowledge of her husband's infamy, and of all offence against her country; and Washington, at the request of Arnold, sent her in safety to her parental home in Philadelphia.

PATRIOTISM AND TRIALS OF THE REVOLUTION.

I stop here to recall the fact stated by General Greene on the 26th of September, 1780, that "this was the first instance of treason of the kind where many were from the nature of the dispute to be expected." But this one example was upon the mind of Washington most distressing. "Whom," he was tempted to exclaim even to his friend La Fayette, in view of the confidence reposed in Arnold, and who, after earnest importunities growing out of his wounds and alleged weakness, he had placed in supreme command at West Point, "WHOM CAN WE TRUST NOW?"

The prisoner was at this time under the care of Major Tallmadge, when the latter, in answer to a question as to the possible fate of André, reminded him of the fate of his own classmate and friend, Nathan Hale, near the commencement of the war. "Yes," said Tallmadge, "he was hanged as a spy!" "Surely," quoth André, in reply, "you do not consider his case and mine alike?" "They are precisely similar, and similar will be your punishment," was the prompt answer of his keeper, and of a man in deep sympathy with his fate. It was the result of this free intercourse no doubt which prompted Tallmadge to declare in Congress that the captors of Arnold were "cowboys, or persons who traded with both camps and drove cattle for profit between the two armies." Major Biddle treated this statement, as did many in Congress when it was made, as ungenerous and unjust.

Nathan Hale, it is proper to say in passing, was hung in 1776, in the morning of the Revolution. After one night's imprisonment he was executed, without trial, without mercy, and as a dying man was even denied the use of a Bible. Like André he was a spy. His letters to his mother and the lady he loved were torn to pieces before his eyes. Even his last recorded words of love and final remembrance failed to move the stony heart of the mis-called man and officer before him.

Young Hale entered the enemy's lines at the request of Washington, who needed light as to the number of the enemy on Long Island. With the purest motives and for the most patriotic services he met the wishes of his Commander-in-Chief. He was detected as he was leaving the enemy's camp, and was betrayed by his own kinsman. The time of his execution was at break of day, while the great fires of September 21st, 1776, were smouldering in the distance, and where the conflagration heightened the anger of the British occupants of American territory. His execution was upon the order of Sir William Howe, and the manner of it was the most brutal official act of the seven years' war. The treatment and trial of André, in contrast, not only won the sympathy and approval of André himself, but the respectful recognitions of the entire country. Whatever the differences of opinion as to the act of execution upon the gibbet, there were none as to the fairness of the trial. Nor was there any division of sentiment as to the gentlemanly and courageous bearing of the prisoner. André was but twenty-nine at the time of his execution and Hale but twenty-one. While André in his death was calm, silent, and self-possessed, almost beyond precedent, the last and glowing words of Hale were his regrets that "he had but one life to give for his country." In contrast to Hale's manner of death, André wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, September 29th, less than three days before his execution, as follows: "I receive the greatest attention from his Excellency General Washington, and from every person under whose charge I happen to be placed." The spot where Hale was buried no one knows, while André received the respect of his enemies, the honors of his country, and to remove the taint of hanging, the King of England knighted one of André's brothers.

Washington, we read, burst into tears when he heard of the treason of Arnold, and said "I had no more suspicion of Arnold than I had of myself." André also once burst into tears when he counted the cost of a sacrifice which, beginning in Arnold's foul treason, ended in his own death upon the gibbet. André's tears, it is proper to say, grew out of his great distress for the feelings of Clinton, whose orders he had exceeded, whom he sincerely loved, and in whom Clinton seemed to repose more confidence, and to give more power, than to any other officer on his staff or under his command.

One other scene recorded in the drama of André's seizure

can never be forgotten. Hitherto all had been well with him, especially his many miles of midnight travel with muffled ears from King's Ferry to Teller's Point and back from the Vulture to Long Cove. He had left behind him all the guards, sentries and patrols of his enemies, and was looking forward to the meeting of friends in a place of safety, when he was confronted by his three captors with three cocked muskets aimed at his person. As a means of safety he was clothed in part in the dress of Arnold's confidential, if not traitorous, companion, Smith. The dress worn by him was a tall beaver hat, crimson coat, and pantaloons and vest of nankeen. He also bore upon his person the order of Arnold "to pass André where he would within the American lines." Edmund Burke's Register has said of the offender, that "his open bravery, high ideas of candor, and disdain of duplicity, unfitted him for the mechanical boldness, dissimulation, and circumspection of a spy." When discovered he thought the three men he encountered on the highway belonged either to his own country, or if not that they were friendly to it. Paulding had been only four days out of a British prison, and one of his keepers had compelled him to change his own better dress for that of a Briton or Hessian. In this recognized dress André's eyes fell first upon Paulding and then upon his companions. Some ambiguous word of one of the captors brought out the response which betrayed the spy : " You are from *below*. " I, too, am from *below*. I am a British officer, on urgent business ; do not detain me a minute." Then came the presentation of Arnold's pass, and the vain threat of Arnold's name and vengeance, if it was not respected. The boots, the boast, the urgency of manner, and the promise of money, made duty plain, and brought out the reply of Paulding, which, like Nathan Hale's last words, will live forever : " If you gave us ten thousand guineas, you should not stir a step."

THE TREASON OF ARNOLD.

General Arnold has been compared to General Monk, whose bad example the American traitor copied, but with none of Monk's success. George III. was Arnold's friend ; while reason was enthroned in the brain of the king he was in high favor with his majesty, but when the mind of the king was lost by a fatal insanity, the honest people of Old England re-

called the man who had brought neither honor to himself nor profit to their country ; and they also remembered him as one whose crimes to his own country as well as to the British colonies in America, had caused the death of one now esteemed and honored through all the realm. Lord Surrey said in Parliament, " I will not speak while that man is in the House." Lord Lauderdale was equally offended when he saw Arnold familiar with the king. Then came the plague-spot in Arnold's life. Despised in England, detested in America, and wretched in his own existence, we are told, in a family tradition, possibly true, that his last words were : " Bring me, I beg you, the epanettes and sword knots which Washington gave me ; let me die in my old American uniform, the uniform in which I fought my battles, and God forgive me," he added, " for ever putting on any other." The death of this man took place in 1801, but where buried, in the wilderness of London no man knows. When Arnold and his wife looked upon the remains of André in Westminster Abbey, then, indeed, he might have felt and said all this, and more than this, especially when he remembered that his, in high places, if not in the lowest estate, was the solitary treason of his country :

" One grateful truth he left to glad mankind,
That in a war so long, his crime alone
Should stain the annals of recording time."

We recall also as a part of the events of the time in hand the impudent threats of Arnold in his letters to Washington in behalf of André, and the persistent but more honorable demands of Clinton and his friend Robinson for his release, because André, as alleged, but without truth—André himself writing to the contrary—was under " a flag of truce" when he left the *Vulture*, and rightly named the *Vulture* for the mischief done both to André and Arnold. The court which tried the offender, the chief of the army, who felt deep pity for André's youth, and respect for his manly bearing—and it was in every way deserving of respect and sympathy—and the general feeling of the country was that there could be no pardon for such an offence. It was said at the time that " men are not to be reckoned as we reckon animals, and that one camel is worth no more than another, but the man who is before us is worth an army."

Nor was the sentence and execution one of retaliation as has

been more than once stated, for since the hanging of Nathan Hale in 1776, at least eight British spies had been hung. The reply of Israel Putnam to General Tryon expressed the spirit of the times and the duties of the occasion. He wrote as follows :

" SIR : Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my army as a *spy*, he was tried as a *spy*, he was condemned as a *spy*, and you may rest assured, sir, that he shall be hanged as a *spy*.

" I have the honor to be etc.,

" ISRAEL PUTNAM."

" P. S.—Afternoon. He is hanged."

ANDRÉ AS A MAN, AN OFFICER, AND A SPY.

The disloyalty of the period, and the great number of loyalists even in this part of the country, as I have said, made some terrible example a necessity. André was not only a spy in 1780, but it is stated, and is believed, that he was a successful spy, in the disguise of a cattle driver, in the fall of Charleston, one of the greatest disasters of the war, compelling as it did the surrender of General Lincoln with his army of nearly 7000 troops. The fact of André's presence disguised as a spy in the South, as well as at the North, is upon the evidence of one of Clinton's own officers who so stated in 1822, and of one of André's intimate friends. He was fond of adventure, and by talent and study, by art and address, was fitted, Mr. Burke's Register to the contrary, for the work before him. He found pleasure in danger. Like Arnold he could run with the hare or hunt with the hounds. He was in the upper story of Smith's house in the gray of the morning and through the night. He left Arnold, we are told, who detained him through the night, depressed in spirit and sad in countenance, but recovered rapidly as he passed beyond what he regarded as points of danger. All commend his self-possession from the hour of his arrest to the moment of his execution. He shuddered, but only for a second of time, as he glanced at the gibbet which in a moment was to launch him into the presence of the Almighty : but with recovered composure he calmly said, " It will soon be over." I may say of him, without exaggeration and hardly in a figure of speech, that " he smiled at the drawn dagger and defied its point."

It is due to his gentle nature also to say that in the presence of women and children he was every inch a manly man.

When practically second in command in New York, he came to the rescue of a lad fifteen years of age, a boy of true Yankee grit in the fight, but not so plucky in defeat. The boy had been caught while fighting, with children of a larger growth, a body of men on the British side engaged in a foraging party. The party were taken to the city jail, where André, richly dressed in his uniform, approached the lad and said to him : " My dear boy, what makes you cry ? " The natural and childish answer, in sight of the prison was : " My mother and my sister at home ! " And André then said : " Well, my dear child, don't cry any more," and after seeing Clinton he came again to the scared and weeping youth and said : " My boy, I've good news for you ! The General has given you to me to dispose of as I choose, and now you are at liberty. So run home to your parents and be a good boy. Mind what they tell you. Say your prayers, *love one another*, and God ALMIGHTY WILL BLESS YOU."

Inside or outside of the gospel of peace for men, women or children, State or country, I have never heard in words a better sermon, nor read a nobler example than this.

There is abundant evidence also of André's kindness to American prisoners of war when under his care. All who were near him were kindly treated. Washington the Chief, his aide-de-camp, Hamilton, then at about the age of twenty-three, who was much with him, Major Jackson, who had received André's kindness in prison, one and all indeed were deeply touched with the genuine manliness of the prisoner. Hamilton could not refrain from saying, while justifying the execution, in a long and memorable letter to his betrothed : " I confess to you I had the weakness to value the esteem of a dying man because I revered his merit ;" and Hamilton would if he could have saved his life by receiving, life for life, Arnold in exchange. It is in evidence that Washington proposed this in a letter to Clinton under a flag of truce ; but, as was natural, and in war and precedent proper, the offer was declined. No wonder that La Fayette, as one of the court who sentenced him to death, said : " All the court were filled with expressions of admiration for him. It is impossible to express too much respect or too deep regret for Major André." Tallmadge wrote, " I became so deeply attached to Major André that I could remember no instance where my affection was so fully absorbed by any man." No marvel then that tears fell from

many eyes when André died upon the gibbet, with the courage of a hero and the philosophy of a sage.

The closing scene of all in André's life is one of the saddest recorded in history. He appealed to Washington to soften his last moments by allowing him to be shot instead of dying upon the gibbet. His brief words were, for I am limited by rapidly passing time, to a paragraph :

"TAPPAN, October, 1780.

"Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your Excellency and a military tribunal to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honor. Let me hope, sir, if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, if aught in my misfortunes makes me the victim of policy and not of resentment, I shall experience the operations of these feelings in your heart by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet.

"JOHN ANDRÉ,

Adjutant-General to the British Army."

Washington's counsellors declared the request inadmissible, and Washington himself chose not to add a fresh pang to André's heart by any written denial to his earnest request. And hence the studied silence where words would only have added more pain to the deepest sorrow.

It was the mode of André's death which caused sharp criticism and deep indignation in the country from whence he came, and it also caused profound pity, and not without criticism, in the United States. André was young in years and eleven years the junior of Arnold when misfortune overtook him. He was born of Swiss parents in 1751, and educated in Europe. Arnold, the source and cause of all his public woes, an American by birth and education, had engaged a man of great address and of deliberate purpose to ruin the land against which he was in arms, and not now in the open field of war as at St. Johns, near Lake Champlain, and elsewhere. The deed was done in the by-paths and concealments of a country road, at night time in part, and under a false flag of truce. But if Arnold could have been exchanged for André the country and the world would have rejoiced, and André's life been saved. Delicate and refined in features, educated in books and arts, cultivated in manners, brave as a soldier, fond of painting, drawing, and music, which not alone in poetry to his loved one, but in rhyme and song and music to his enemies, he used all his arms and arts, with skill and satire at the expense of America, and especially against General Wayne.

He was in love, too, and, saddest of all to a sensitive mind

and heart, he was a rejected lover, and this, I think, as rarely happens without love lost upon his own side. The woman he loved, Honora Sneyd by name, is presented to us at the time as graceful in person, beautiful in features, and as one whose expression heightened the eloquence of everything she said. Another memory or painting of her is that she was surrounded by virgin glories, beauty and grace, sensibility and goodness, superior intelligence and unswerving truth. It was said of André at home, and as a man worthy of this affection, that the better he was known the more he was loved, and certain it is that in many ways his was a gentle spirit. He failed in love, and he failed in war. At St. John's in November, 1775, he was captured, with six hundred troops, and for a time was quartered in Philadelphia, later at Lancaster and Carlisle, and was released by exchange near the close of 1776. Soon he was advanced in the British army, and so passed on honored and respected until the fatal months, eighteen of them in all as I read, when he became, if not the companion, the counsellor and correspondent of one, all in all, perhaps the blackest traitor named in the records of time. And so, as the good book tells us, it is always true that evil communications corrupt good manners.

Better a hundred times over André than Arnold. Better André upon the gibbet, than Arnold the American traitor Major-General, or the Major-General of the British army. Arnold, intellectually and physically, was brave, brilliant, capable of immense will power, and of great nervous activity. He knew as a soldier, as some men have known in political service, how to be the greatest, wisest, and meanest of mankind. He sold his honor and his patriotism to a bad ambition, a mean jealousy, and a spirit of revenge. In the history of mankind it would be hard to find a sadder example of the consequences of misguided thought and conduct than in the life of Benedict Arnold. Some of his name, related to him by blood, honorable as citizens, have felt the sting of his crime, and have tried at times to find some excuse for it in the seeming neglect of recognition for work performed by him when a successful soldier in the war of the Revolution, and especially for his valor at Saratoga and Quebec. We cheerfully admit his courage in battle, and in all that once belonged to the glories of the field his claim to higher military promotion, before he fell to the lowest depths of personal degradation. Whatever his

wrongs, Washington, nor his country were the wrong-doers ; and if they had been the man should have risen above revenge and treason and proved to the country and to mankind that patience, forbearance, and endurance are the first duties of the patriot and the soldier. Arnold, as we have seen, so felt in the end, and but for the sin by which the angels fell a better fate might have saved his name and fame.

WASHINGTON, ARNOLD, AND ANDRÉ.

As we feel to-day, the anniversary of the birth of Washington, his greatest personal crime was to Washington himself. To him he was guilty of ingratitude, injustice, insincerity, and baseness in all their forms. Though Washington had placed him in the triple post of confidence, honor, and safety at West Point, to keep Clinton from the North and Burgoyne from the South, he sought from June to near the close of September, if not long before, to break this barrier of separation, and to place Washington, the army, and the country in possession of the enemy, and all for a sum of money, and a place in power. We give, therefore, special thanks to Almighty God to-day for the deliverance of the nation from the tempter a hundred years ago, as we do for the life and services and example and memory of George Washington.

Lord Mahon chose in his History of England to regard the death of André as the greatest blot upon the career of Washington ; and he chose also to trace the fate of André to Washington's sternness of character, and to his culpable omission to examine for himself the particular facts in the conduct of André and the conduct of Arnold. It is enough to say in reply that André was dealing with a man guilty of the double crime of treason to his country and treason to his commander in arms. To this end he sought and obtained command of the fortress which separated the two great forces of the enemy. He had given orders to his subordinate, Colonel Sheldon, to pass André through the American lines. He had carried on a secret and villainous correspondence with André, as one John Anderson, about "good speculations," "the price of tobacco" and "ready money." He had again and again violated the flag of truce. On the night of September 21st he dispatched Joshua H. Smith, if not an open criminal, an accomplice, to visit the British sloop-of-war Vulture at Teller's Point, twelve or fifteen miles below West Point, and to this vessel he was

rowed by two laborers. He was in conference with André at Smith's house, the one an open foe to liberty and union, people and country, and the other making terms with this foe as to the price to be paid for the betrayal of his country. He had completed a bargain, under six distinct heads, showing, one by one, the place and force of each corps at West Point, of each redoubt and battery, with a complete description of the place, of the condition and strength of all points of defence, and the confidential communication of Washington to Arnold. Two of these papers gave, in Arnold's handwriting, the strength of the garrison and the force necessary to man the works. André accepted all this information from Arnold secretly, willingly, on our own soil, and for the direct purpose of destroying the country. It is also important to remember that Clinton would consent to nothing short of a knowledge of Arnold's purpose to tell all he knew of the forces at West Point and with the intent of their surrender. Well did the King of England say "the public never can be compensated for the vast advantages which must have followed from the success of his plan."

André also came from the Vulture to the shores of the Hudson in his own British uniform, covered only by an ordinary cloak, and he returned in clothes borrowed from Smith and with a pass from Arnold. Smith, his companion, parted with him on the left bank of the river to report to Arnold at West Point that "all was going well." Arnold also was to receive for his treason if successful, £30,000 in money,* and no loss of rank or pay. Clinton, for value received, was as willing to buy as Arnold was to sell; ready, indeed, to quote his own words, to close the bargain, "at every risk and at any cost." In the upper story of Smith's house,† already mentioned,

* M. Marfoix is authority for this statement, and it was often repeated and generally credited.

† Between two and three miles above the village of Haverstraw, on the west side of the road leading to Stony Point, stands the old Smith mansion, memorable as the house wherein André and Arnold met to concert the details of the latter's treason. It is a square, two-storied, stone house, with wooden wings, and is rather more modern in appearance than most of the houses that were built prior to the Revolution. The interior of the house is spacious and handsome. The room the plotters were in is the southwest corner of the second story. In this room, it is believed, André changed his dress, and here still stands the wardrobe, in which he deposited his uniform, and where it was found by Captain Cairnes, of Lee's Light Horse, who brought the order for it from Joshua Hett Smith, to the house of his

Arnold was paying, by betrayal of his country, the price agreed upon, and for several hours the spy and traitor, face to face, were engaged in these treacherous bargains. Arnold here laid before André, in Smith's upper chamber, the official plans of all the works at West Point, and the very plans prepared for Washington by the French engineer Duportail. These were the papers seized, and it was for this seizure that the three captors received their lands, medals, and pensions from the United States Government, from the State Government, the thanks of Congress, of the Legislature of New York, and of the City of New York, in a monument for Paulding, besides the thanks of Washington himself. The people at the time, and for two generations since, have recognized their patriotism and the great value of their services.

Of Arnold's thirty thousands pounds of blood-money, with pay and rank, which Clinton had promised him, I think I may say with Vattel, the great expositor on the laws of war, that "such bribes for seduction are not in accord with the laws of a moral conscience. The best law says that "seducing a subject to betray his country : . . . practising on the fidelity of a governor, enticing him, persuading him to deliver up a place, is prompting such persons to commit detestable crimes ;" and Vattel asks, "Is it honest to incite our most inveterate enemy to be guilty of a crime?" He also says of spies, that "they . . . those who introduce themselves among the enemy to discover the condition of his affairs, penetrate his designs and communicate them to him who employs them." The entire law of nations is in accord with this opinion, and hence when the co-spirators of Clinton were engaged in the foul work of fomenting mutiny and treason among American troops at Princeton, they were seized and hung on the authority of the laws of war, or the law of nations.

General Washington, in his letter to Congress bearing date at Robinson's house in the Highlands, September 26th, 1780, declared, upon the instant of his knowledge of what these men had done, that "their acts do them the highest honor and prove them to be men of virtue," and, he added, in a letter to his court of six major-generals, and eight brigadier-generals, that the men who tried him had performed their duty.

Brother Thomas where the Captain was quartered. The house is supposed to have been built some time previous to the Revolution, but the date of its erection is not known. It is well preserved, and is now owned and occupied by Mr. Adam Lilburn.

Of Arnold's antecedents, good and bad, I have spoken. Of the good, as at Quebec and Saratoga, where the good was of immense value. Of the evil, beyond his treason, was his hostility to the alliance with France, which contributed in ships and men upon the sea, and in men and arms upon the land so much to the crowning work of the Revolution which ended in the defeat of Cornwallis, and in compelling Lord North to resign with the cry that "All is lost." In the height of the war Arnold became weary of the war, and was eager for peace. His mind, like his body, was ill at ease. He complained of a ruined constitution and of a limb rendered useless in the war. In his letter to Joshua H. Smith he says : "At the close of the war I look for compensation for such damages as I have sustained," and the same man wrote these foul words from the Vulture to Washington at West Point, October 1st, 1780 : "I call Heaven and earth to witness that your Excellency will be justly answerable for the torrent of blood that may be shed," if André is executed.

I leave André, whose remains were removed, with all the honors of war, from the place of his execution near at hand, and buried in his own country in 1821, under an order of George III. They were borne to the shores of his fatherland, and with renewed honors placed in Westminster Abbey, where upon his monument we read, "he fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his king and country." André for sixty years has had his chief monument in the great mausoleum of the Old World ; and a monument recording his execution as a spy is now here in your own County, in the New World. Of the wisdom of the erection of this last monument there may be a divided opinion, but let us with just explanations, question neither the motive nor the generosity it teaches. The sentiment which inspired it was the noble one of peace and good will among men ; peace between the mother land and the daughter land, between the nation from whose loins we and André came, kindred in language, enterprise, thrift, and most of all in liberty, intelligence and material growth. The monument here I believe was suggested by the distinguished scholar and preacher, Dean Stanley, who wrote by request of the donor, Mr. Cyrus W. Field, these historical words, no one of which in any way reflects upon the men who tried and convicted André, nor in any way upon the country whose very life he would have taken in its first struggle for independence, nor upon Washington himself who signed the sentence of death.

HERE DIED, OCTOBER 2, 1780,
 MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ OF THE BRITISH ARMY
 WHO, ENTERING THE AMERICAN LINES
 ON A SECRET MISSION TO BENEDICT ARNOLD,
 FOR THE SURRENDER OF WEST POINT,
 WAS TAKEN PRISONER, TRIED AND CONDEMNED AS
 A SPY.
 HIS DEATH,
 THOUGH ACCORDING TO THE STERN CODE OF WAR,
 MOVED EVEN HIS ENEMIES TO PITY;
 AND BOTH ARMIES MOURNED THE FATE
 OF ONE SO YOUNG AND SO BRAVE.
 IN 1821 HIS REMAINS WERE REMOVED
 TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
 A HUNDRED YEARS AFTER THE EXECUTION
 THIS STONE WAS PLACED ABOVE THE SPOT WHERE
 HE LAY.
 BY A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST WHICH HE
 FOUGHT:
 NOT TO PERPETUATE THE RECORD OF STRIFE,
 BUT IN TOKEN OF THOSE BETTER FEELINGS
 WHICH HAVE SINCE UNITED TWO NATIONS,
 ONE IN RACE, IN LANGUAGE, AND ONE IN RELIGION,
 WITH THE HOPE THAT THIS FRIENDLY UNION WILL NEVER
 BE BROKEN."

On the spot where this record is the body of André rested for forty years, and marked, as we are told, only by a tree whose fruit never blossomed.

ANDRÉ'S TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

In this connection I think I may also refer to the form of André's trial. The record reads as follows :

The Board having considered the letter from his Excellency, General Washington, respecting Major André, Adjutant-General to the British Army, the confession of Major Andre and the papers produced to them, report to his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, the following facts which appear to them in relation to Major André :

"Firstly, That he came on shore from the *Vulture*, sloop-of-war, in the night of the 21st September instant, on an interview with General Arnold in a private and secret manner.

"Secondly, That he changed his dress within our lines, and under a feigned name and in a disguised habit passed our works at Stony and Verplank's Point, the evening of the 22d September instant, and was taken the morning of the 23d September instant at Tarrytown in a disguised habit, being then on his way to New York, and when taken he had in his possession several papers which contained intelligence for the enemy.

"The Board having maturely considered these facts do also report to his Excellency, General Washington, that Major André, Adjutant General to

the British Army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that agreeable to the law and usage of nations it is their opinion that he ought to suffer death."

Signed by Nathaniel Greene, M.G., president, and thirteen others, including La Fayette, Steuben, James Clinton, Knox, and Starke.

The letter of Washington which preceded this trial reads as follows :

"GENTLEMEN : Major André, Adjutant-General to the British Army, will be brought before you for your examination. He came within our lines in the night on an interview with Major-General Arnold, and in an assumed character, and was taken within our lines in a disguised habit, with a pass under a feigned name and with the enclosed papers concealed upon him. After a careful examination you will be pleased as speedily as possible to report a precise state of his case, together with your opinion of the light in which he ought to be considered and the punishment that ought to be inflicted."

And when all was over, another letter read as follows :

"PARAMUS, October 7, 1780.

" . . . This officer was executed in pursuance of the opinion of the Board on Monday the second instant at twelve o'clock at our late camp at Tappan. . . ."

A word more of Benedict Arnold. He, like André and his captors, also has his monument, and Alexander Hamilton, as the aide-de-camp of Washington, inscribed upon it, in the form of the memories of the people, the undying record, that while "Arnold is handed down with execration to future times, posterity will repeat with reverence the names of Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart," and in the same paper he said of André, in connection with these men : "He tempted their integrity with the offer of his watch, his horse, and any sum of money they should name. They rejected his offer with indignation, and the gold that could seduce a man high in the esteem and confidence of his country had no charms for these simple peasants, leaning on their virtue and a sense of duty."

WASHINGTON'S PART IN THE TRIAL OF ANDRÉ.

It was Sterne who said that "of all the cant in this canting world, though the cant of hypocrisy may be the worst, the cant of criticism is the most tormenting." The severest criticisms have followed the part taken by Washington in the trial and execution of André. Had the offenders been either of the Howes, in command of the British army and navy, or Clinton

in command when André was arrested, tried, sentenced, and executed, no deeper feeling could have pervaded Great Britain or impressed the colonies. The sentence and its execution proved at least that America, sink or swim, live or die, was in dead earnest for independence. It was the detestable treason of Arnold also which was, in part, punished in the sentence of André. The latter was in close communication with a villain, and of a man whose later avowal was the confident expectation that with the British in possession of West Point, America was subdued. At times that communication was open, and when necessary it was confidential and secret. The officers selected by Washington to hear and determine his case were men whose reputations will live as long as the country lives as among the wisest, truest, and most patriotic men of the Revolution. The report of these fourteen officers was unanimous, after the fairest trial, and by men who felt the deepest sympathy for the guilty officer detected in a work which contemplated literally the surrender of the strongest fortress in the land, and the worst possible consequences to liberty and independence. Their verdict was that "he ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy;" and that "he ought to suffer death." The next day, September 30th, 1780, the sentence of death being known, Washington, now acting as a judge, obedient to law, as the chief of the army which Arnold would have betrayed into the hands of André, as a patriot whose mind was pure as the air of heaven, whose heart in every fibre of its being was devoted to the love of country, wrote these words :

"The Commander-in-Chief approves of the opinion of the Board of General officers respecting Major André, and orders that the execution of Major André take place to-morrow, at 5 o'clock, p.m."

The execution was postponed until the 2d of October. September 30th, the sentence was laid before Congress, whose judgment Washington would gladly have received ; but, while there was intense feeling upon the subject of the trial and the sentence of death, there was no public debate nor any interference with the judgment of the court, nor any advice in regard to it. Stedman, the British historian, an officer under Clinton, charged Washington with "cold insensibility" for the mode of André's death, but let me answer that the mode was a logical necessity for the crime committed, and even Walter Scott so held it before his countrymen.

The appeals made to Washington for an exchange of prisoners by Clinton and his representatives, and for a change of the manner of death, were unheeded but not unheard by Washington. He did what the military court who tried André decided to be just. He did what he thought it was right to do, in view both of the crime committed against the country and as a necessary example upon the people of the nation, many of whom were disloyal even here in the midst of the country where the wrong was done. He followed the wisest military precedents all the world over. Napoleon, when on trial before the great triumvirate of British statesmen, Stockwell, Ellenborough, and Grant, thirty-four years after André was executed, was pronounced a pirate, a criminal, and a common enemy of mankind. There was a disposition even to hand him over as a traitor to Louis XVIII., and only a division of opinion—where there was none in the court that sentenced André—substituted an exile worse than death for death itself. The fate of André, ignominious as it was, was in the end better than that of many of his comrades; better indeed than that of the King whom he served, and hardly worse than that which befel his two American friends, Hamilton and Henry Lee—the one killed in a most shameful duel, and the other the inmate of a jail, the victim of a mob, the creature of malice and of the most terrible poverty. Chief Justice Marshall, pure and great, among the wisest of the land, said that “André having been unquestionably a spy, his sentence consequently was just.”

Death early or late, as I have said, is the common lot of all mankind; and it came to André a little beyond the morning of life, amidst the sincere regrets of his enemies and the esteem and lamentations of all whom he served on both sides of the ocean. “Unusually esteemed and unusually regretted,” were the words of Alexander Hamilton in his record of the transaction, and this was the general feeling of all men. While Hamilton’s sympathies for André were intense they were every way manly. “Never, perhaps,” he said, “did a man suffer with more justice, or deserve it less.” He condemned André for what he had attempted against the country, and acquitted him, because, as he said, “the authorized maxims and practices of war are the satire of human nature;” and because, as he also said, “these maxims permit the general that can make the worst traitors in the army of his adversary to be

frequently most applauded." Like Washington, Hamilton felt, as upon reflection we all must feel, apart from our interest in talent, taste, and a generous nature, that it was "a blemish in André's fame that he once intended to prostitute a flag; and about this a nice honor ought to have had a scruple." Major Tallmadge also wrote as André's sympathizing friend, "Though he dies lamented he dies justly." While André gave his true name to Washington, it is but a just inference to say that he did this partly in the interest of truth, but more in his own interest for his own fame. In the myth "John Anderson," there was nowhere any personal interest; as John André, Adjutant-General of the British Army, though the same man, he was altogether a different person. The only particle of selfishness in his conduct after his arrest was in his letter to Washington, wherein he intimated a threat that "some gentlemen at Charleston," quoting his own words, "were engaged in a conspiracy against us" . . . "objects who may be sent in exchange for me, or persons whom the treatment I receive might affect." It was on this hint that Arnold wrote his threat to Washington, and Clinton also claimed André's release. The demand suggested acts of retaliation which if put in practice no doubt André would have deplored. The suggestion was ungenerous and unjust, since these Charleston men, then in confinement at St. Augustine, had both invited and demanded investigation.

WASHINGTON'S MILITARY PART IN THE WAR.

Among our people, my friends, I have seen and heard men who, conceding the noble character and services of Washington, hesitate to admit his success in war. To this belief or unbelief let me answer that Washington's retreat from Long Island and New York city, despite the losses by retreat and battle, was one of the great marvels and successes of the war. Sir William Howe was Commander-in-Chief on Long Island with a chosen force vastly larger than the American army. The victory of Howe was unavoidable, but from that victory Washington, by patience mingled with zeal, by vigilance coupled with forethought, rescued 9000 men from the enemy and led them through the city to Fort Washington, where 2000 Americans were finally taken prisoners. But this was when Howe was in New York, Cornwallis in pursuit of Washington,

and the British fleet of 136 vessels of war was in the harbor of New York. This was perhaps the darkest hour of the Revolution ; and for liberty and independence there seemed to be no light anywhere on the land or the sea, nor anywhere along the horizon.

One of the worst trials of war, in paper, called money, with no coin to redeem it, depressed the government credit, and deprived it of all reliable means of support. Men who had promised loyalty to patriotism and devotion to independence, lost for a season all heart and hope, and for a while the Crown of England was high in the ascendant. For a time also it seemed as if all the forces which had been saved from the enemy would disperse or dissolve. A feeling akin to despair seized the great body of the people ; but Washington never despaired. He was equal to the crisis, even when Lee and Gates declared that " a certain great man," meaning Washington, " is most damnable deficient." Yet it was in this crisis that Sir William Howe upon the land, Lord Howe on the water, and Cornwallis in pursuit of Washington's newly-gathered militia—then only 5000 men in all—were out-generalled and in all their leading plans defeated.

The Jersey chain of forts, which the British could have taken and held, were seized by Washington. Rahl was destroyed, Cornwallis mastered by strategy, and the victories at Trenton and Princeton were won. These victories quickened the pulses and warmed the hearts of the people. General Clinton declared to Sir William Howe and Lord Germain that the fatal mistake of the British was the movement of Cornwallis and General Grant southward. Duty and wisdom, they said, demanded the support of Burgoyne in the North ; and had this support been given it is among the probabilities of war that Burgoyne would at least have saved his army at Saratoga. Philadelphia, however, was gained by the enemy if Saratoga was lost, and to our men, poorly clad, poorly fed, poorly paid, and most of them plain militiamen, it led to another disastrous retreat. Washington was again defeated, chiefly by larger numbers and by greater skill in command. Generals Howe, Knyphansen, and their chosen officers led the British troops across the Schuylkill, seized 7000 barrels of flour, the very bread of the army at Valley Forge, and made this again one of the darkest periods of the Revolution. Washington was again beaten, but in his patience, faith,

courage, and indomitable spirit, he was never crushed. The expected aid from France came not, but bankruptcy, a far worse enemy than the British, came in place of it, and everywhere stared the colonies in the face. The spirit of New England grew cold as the invaders left her shores; but warmed again into natural fire as they returned to their work of invasion.

Many of the landowners in Virginia and south of it clung for a time to the landed aristocracy, from whom they had in part derived their landed titles, or with whom they were in sympathy. From this class Washington, the most unselfish of men, then a member of the Continental Congress, was in the beginning made by this Congress, on motion of John Adams, Commander-in-Chief. The end is familiar to you, and especially in the events of the year which followed Arnold's treason. In all the war of eight years Washington but once visited his home. Cornwallis, foiled in his advance on North Carolina, after the long British revel at Philadelphia, and the American losses and sufferings at Valley Forge, placed himself in strong entrenchments at Yorktown; but the French fleet held the sea, and Washington by a sudden march soon held the land in front of the enemy, and Cornwallis was compelled to fight or to submit to a surrender more disastrous than that of Burgoyne at Saratoga. I shall not, therefore, recall any words already spoken, not enter upon any vindication here to prove that Washington is still, in the estimation of his countrymen of sober thought, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," and this, let me say, whatever may be the occasional flickering modern opinion against this conclusion.

I recall briefly as one reason of his success what in his day Jefferson said of his qualities as the commander of the American army: "Perhaps," said he, "the strongest feature in his character was prudence, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining if he saw a doubt, but when once decided going through with his purpose whatever obstacles interposed. Hence the common remark of his officers of the advantage he derived from councils of war, where hearing all suggestions he selected what was best."^{*}

^{*} In the Virginia Assembly, where he served for many years, and where, as late as 1774, he hoped with so many others for an honorable and perpet-

ROCKLAND AND STONY POINT.

Before I close let me not forget that I am in the County of Rockland, many of whose ancestors were, and whose people to-day are, distinguished for love of country, and devotion to its welfare. Nor do I forget the exceptional and objectionable men of the past time, in this neighborhood, then a part of Old Orange. It was of your ancestors and neighboring people that General Howe said in 1777, after taking possession of the Highlands: "*I can do nothing with this Dutch population. I can neither buy them with money, nor conquer them with force.*" No higher praise could be bestowed upon any people. It was when all the strong places on the Hudson were in the hands of the British and 600 chosen men with skilled engineers and selected ordnance were placed within the fortress that Washington, ever vigilant to move where opportunity and duty called for action, conceived the plan of securing Stony Point. General Wayne was asked to undertake the work, and Washington's plan of attack was submitted by his honored commander to Wayne himself, then at the age of thirty-four. The characteristic answer of the man, whose sobriquet was "Mad Anthony Wayne,"—sober enough, however, in all but his words—was, "Yes, General, I'll storm hell, if you will plan the attack." "Better try Stony Point first," was Washington's much cooler and more becoming rejoinder. The attack was made in numbers less than one half of the British force within the fortress, and it came, as you know, from two columns of 150 men each, and each column was led by a forlorn hope of twenty men—Wayne leading the foremost file on the right. Wayne was among the first who fell, struck by a musket ball. He entered the fort wounded and bleeding, and asked to die at the head of his column. Of the first twenty who entered with him seventeen were disabled by the enemy. The men pushed forward with fixed bayonets and locks without flints. They fought man to man, hand to hand, and in a kind of desperate conflict, never excelled even in the struggles of the Peninsular war, or of any other war. Fifteen of Wayne's forlorn hope were killed on the

uated union with Great Britain, Patrick Henry said of him as a fellow-member that "for solid information and sound judgment he was unquestionably the greatest man in the Assembly." And herein is the revelation of his great success,

spot, and eighty-three of his followers were wounded, while the British lost only 53 in killed and wounded, but more than 500 prisoners were taken, with all the ordnance and encampments of the fort. Wayne's despatch to Washington, like the man, was brief and complete, and told the whole story in these few words :

"The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnson, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men who were determined to be free.

"Very sincerely,

"ANTHONY WAYNE."

I recall this incident for three reasons, first of all to state that it was Washington who conceived and planned the attack. Second, in honor of the man selected by Washington to execute it, and finally to keep fresh in our memories the place where the deed was done. Washington Irving, living upon the opposite shore, placed only a just estimate upon the successful attack when he called it "one of the most brilliant achievements of the Revolution." It was worthy of Princeton, Trenton, the marvellous rally from the depth of sorrow and defeat at New York, Philadelphia, Valley Forge, and the great victory at Yorktown, each and all just so many proofs of the military ability of Washington in the war of the Revolution. From the few men at Valley Forge to the presence of Howe's strong army of Britons and Hessians is indeed the military event of Washington's life.

WASHINGTON IN CIVIL LIFE.

I might recall to-day many precepts and examples in the life of Washington which have a direct bearing upon the time in which we live, and the close proximity of the coming change in our national administration. The first President was alike an example in civil service as he was in his military life. On the 2d of March, 1789, only forty days before his inauguration, in a letter from Mount Vernon, he uttered these words, which many of us, politics apart, would like to hear repeated in the inaugural address of the incoming President ; certain I am they would have been welcome to me had the successful man been of my own political faith and household. Washington at the date named wrote as follows :

"So far as I know my own heart, I would not be in the remotest degree influenced in making nominations by motives arising from the ties of family

or blood, and, on the other hand, three things, in my opinion, ought principally to be regarded—namely, the fitness of characters to fill offices, the comparative claims from the former merits and sufferings in service of the different candidates, and the distribution of appointments in as equal a proportion as might be to persons belonging to the different States in the Union.”

It was the author of this sentiment, when the first confederation of States failed to establish a safe government, and when the colonies were as discordant as the waves of a vexed and troubled sea, who suggested the Conventions for Commerce, which finally ended in the Convention of 1787, of which Washington was a member, and which resulted in the Constitution of 1789, under which we now live and prosper as a nation.

MEMORY AND CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON.

Finally, let me say of the memory of the name most honored here to-day, that Washington in his stature, strength, and manners was in every respect a man of commanding presence. Upright in person, robust in frame, he stood six feet two inches in height, with full breadth of chest, large hands, and in their grasp in keeping with their form; a large head, eyes of a grayish-blue, and larger in their sockets, as stated by his painter, Stuart, than any he had ever seen. His complexion was ruddy, his hair a brownish auburn, and the nose in its upper part broad and full. His whole appearance indicated the character of the man in a countenance showing the strongest feelings; but tempered, as a rule, with the judgment of one having perfect self-control, he was free from all mean pretensions and all small passions. Simple in his manners he was also most courteous in his bearing. I think I may say of him, in the language of the dramatist, that though “checked for silence he was never taxed for speech.” His suffering for the sorrows of other men, mingled with the deep affliction felt for the frequent losses of his country, greatly added to his own distress of mind, and at times also to his apparent severity. It was all these qualities, blended with the purest love of country and respect for the natural and political rights of his fellow-men, with that kind of practical religion which while it trusted all things, hoped for all things and believed all things in Christian faith, prompted one of his historians to say of him, that “no nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a

nation's life." There to-day let him rest in our affections, pure in his life as the clear atmosphere above us ; firm in the discharge of duty, as the solid rocks which surround us, and like them towering in grandeur towards the Paradise of God, the destined home of men whose work on earth has called them to mansions in the skies.

From these mansions in the heavens the recording angel writes : " Blessed are the pure in heart," " Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." Blessed to-day the memory of the man whose fame is as wide as the world, and unto whose form and presence God breathed the breath of an unselfish public and private life.

It was of this man that Mr. Fox spoke in the British Parliament, in 1794, as " wiser in his own policy than the ministers of his own country, or of any of the European courts ; and, as the illustrious man, deriving honor less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind, before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the potentates of Europe become little and contemptible. . .

For him it has been reserved to run the race of glory without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career." Lord Erskine, a year later, in a letter addressed to Washington, added, if possible, a greater tribute to this " august and immortal name." " I have," he said, " a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted classes of men, but you are the only human being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence. I sincerely pray God to grant a long and serene evening to a life so gloriously devoted to the universal happiness of the world." It is

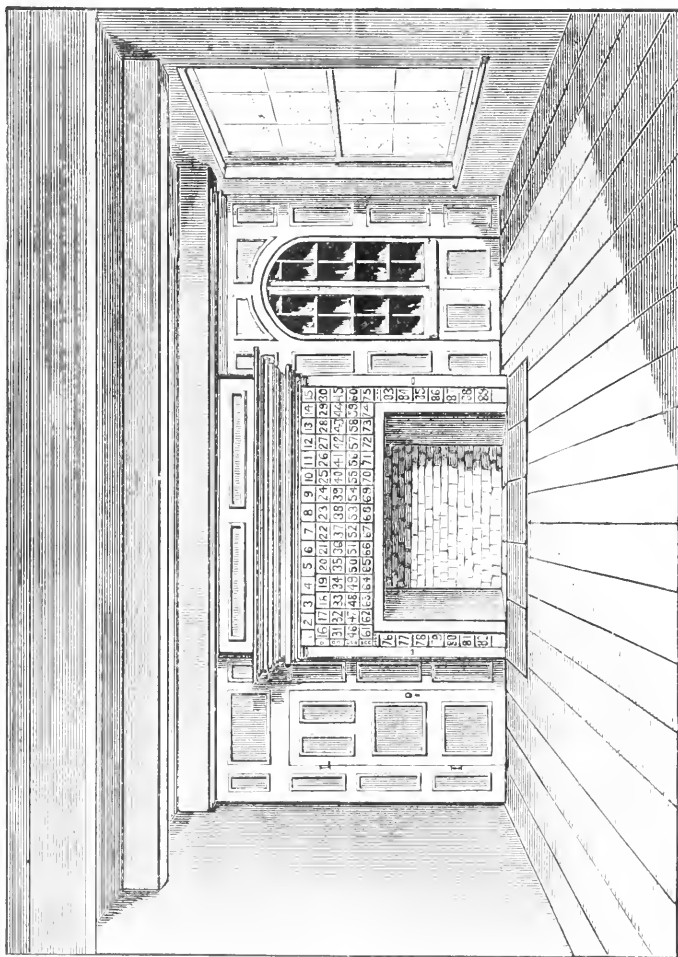
" Not in humble, nor in brief delight,
Not in the fading echoes of renown,
Power's purple robes, nor pleasure's flowery lap
The soul should find enjoyment ; but from these,
Turning disdainful to an equal good,
Till every bond at length should disappear,
And infinite perfection close the scene."





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PARLOR OF THE DE WINT MANSION,
WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT TAPPAN, N. Y., DURING A PART OF
SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1780.



On the morning of Monday, October 2d, 1780, WASHINGTON sat at his desk near the window shown in the engraving. Observing in the distance the preparations that were being made for the execution of Major ANDRÉ, he ordered his servant to close the blinds. It was in this room, on the day previous, that he signed the Death Warrant of ANDRÉ. The room remains in nearly the same condition as it was at that time. The windows, which were the old-fashioned 16-light sash, have been removed, and the 8-light sash substituted. This is the only change that has been made. The figures shown in the engraving of the mantel were used in connection with an index of the Scriptural illustrations on the files, which are difficult to decipher without the aid of the index. (See pages 1 and 2)

